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ABSTRACT

Four papers in this issue focus on population and urban growth in: (1) sub-Saharan Africa; (2) Latin America; (3) the Soviet Union; and (4) Japan and China. While each region has unique population features, similarities exist based on northern or southern hemisphere geographic locations and on a communist or non-communist political orientation. Mallafe Dame reports on sub-Saharan Africa's high fertility rates, concern for food production, and 800 ethnic groups that speak 1500 languages. In "Population Growth and Urbanization in Latin America" Veronica Kann states that unchecked growth in cities has led to economic and ecological stresses involving inadequate employment, drinking water, and housing. Roberta Gumport describes how Chinese and Japanese cities' development differed from the manner in which European cities grew and recent efforts to control and overcome urban problems. Elizabeth Talbot in "Demographics and Urbanization: The Soviet Union," compares population trends in different regions of the USSR and the relationship of industrial development to urban population growth. References are provided. (JHP)

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UPDATE: NEWSLETTER OF THE OUTREACH SERVICES OF THE

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NO. 39, DECEMBER, 1987

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UPDATE

Newsletter of the Outreach Services of the African, Asian, Latin American and Russian Studies Centers
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1208 West California Street, Urbana, Illinois 61801

No. 39 December, 1987

This issue of UPDATE deals with "Population and Urban Growth" in four regions of the world, namely sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Soviet Union and the Far East (Japan and the People's Republic of China). Each of these regions has population features of its own, and population policies-when they exist-tend to reflect these features. Nevertheless, there are similarities; and these tend to fall along two lines: (1) the North-South divide, and (2) Communist versus non-Communist countries.

Highly industrialized countries of the "North," because of their generally longer tradition of urbanization, tend to be more highly urbanized; the rates are 72% for Japan, and 2/3 for the Soviet Union; they also have a higher life expectancy, which can be linked to an overall higher standard of living. This, coupled with a higher rate of instruction, helps maintain the fertility rate at a figure close to the 2.1 replacement rate.

The populations of the "developing" countries of the "South," on the other hand, tend to be mostly rural but with a rapid urban expansion pattern. They are generally much younger; in sub-Saharan Africa, 45% of the population is under 15. Their standards of living are much lower; equally lower is the instruction rate. This, with the burden of tradition and other parameters, often results in high fertility rates; 5.3 in sub-Saharan Africa and 7.1 in Honduras.

The second dividing line between the countries dealt with in our four papers is Communist versus non-Communist countries. By and large, Russia and the People's Repubic of China have a much more restrictive population policy than the rest of the so-called "Free World." In these two countries, family planning and population movement control measures are implemented at the national federal level. This is possible because of the nature of their political systems and the structures of their societies. The patterns are different in the West because these are largely considered as matters pertaining to the individual's rights and personal obligations.

There you have it. The four papers contain a lot of valuable information and raise a number of interesting questions. Population issues tend to be global issues in that their long-term effects tend to alter not only the population pattern of the region concerned and its immediate vicinities, but they also have consequences on the overall socio-economic structure of the entire planet. We therefore hope that these four papers will contribute to raise more questions among our readership.

CENTER FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

Mallafé Dramé, Outreach Coordinator

Located in an area stretching from the southern edges of the Sahara Desert to its southern tip in the Cape Town-Fort Elizabeth sea shores of South Africa, sub-Saharan or Black Africa covers 46 out of the 52 countries that form the African continent, a land surface about three times the size of the USA and representing 20% of the earth land surface. In 1986, its population was estimated at 452 millions souls, which represents approximately 9% of the world's population. Compared to the population patterns of "developed" countries and regions of the world, such as North America, Russia, Western Europe, the demographics of this region offers very sharp contrasts, which can be summed up as follows:

1. very young population
2. high growth rate
3. lack of systematic population policy
4. heavy burden of tradition and religion on programs geared toward population control
5. high illiteracy rate
6. population in majority rural and agricultural
7. rapid urbanization

Let us see what the statistics are, how these features translate into concrete population patterns, and how these in turn affect the whole socio-economic dynamics of the region.

In 1985, a UN report concluded that approximately 45% of the total sub-Saharan population is under 15, as compared to only 22% in the USA. In simple terms, the population in sub-Saharan Africa is very young. This, off course has had, and continues to have a lot of consequences on the economies of the countries in this region. For one thing, training youth into a productive work force capable of enhancing and sustaining the badly needed economic development and growth costs relatively more money here than in developed nations of the Western Hemisphere. For instance, for more than two decades after independence, Sénégal, has spent an average of 25% of its national budget on education alone; yet the illiteracy rate remains high: less than 20% of the total population of the country can read and write French (the official language of the country). High attrition rates, and an ill-adapted educational system carried over from the colonial era without much structural and content adjustment made the effects of this hugh collective sacrifice almost null.

Tied to the relative youth of the population are the high growth and fertility rates. Sub-Saharan Africa has one of the world's highest fertility rates; i.e., a woman of child-bearing age will have an average of 6.1 children, compared to 5.3 for other high-fertility Middle Eastern countries, such as Bengladesh, India, and Pakistan. Urban population is also on the rise. From 1950 to 1980, sub-Saharan urban population went from 21 million to 93 million, an increase of 450% in just 30 years. The projected figure for the year 2010 is 441 million, which represents a 450% increase. This rapid urban population growth brings with it its classical corollaries of social problems, namely (a) need for more health care facilities, (b) need for more schools, (c) rise in child delinquency, (d) need for an expansion and improvement of existing public transportation systems and road infrastructures, and (e) need for more new housing units. According to a recent UN report, in Kenya alone

3 million new housing units will have to be built from 1980 to 2010 to accommodate the country's growing urban population; this represents the equivalent of 15 new Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya.

One major area of concern is food production. Even though sub-Saharan Africa still has a lot of unused land, a large proportion of its 50 billion dollars outside debt went into financing food import. Successive drought cycles, deforestation, political instability and the continued emphasis on export cash crops (most of the time single export crops) has resulted in a sharp decline in the production of food crops, and sub-Saharan Africa's ability to feed itself. From 1981 to 1984, food production has fallen 14% while the price of food import had already risen six times from 1970 to 1978. But the single most serious threat facing the entire region is undoubtedly desertification: it is estimated that the Sahara Desert eats up a 10 km-wide land strip each year southward. This puts in serious jeopardy the very physical existence of the entire sahel region. Only concerted efforts between the governments of the regions and international agencies, such as the dam projects on the Sénégal river valley, offer some hope.

Another area of concern pointed out by historians, anthropologists and linguists alike is the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the region. More than 800 ethnic groups speaking close to 1500 languages and/or language variants. Although research seems to have convincingly proven the genetic unity of both the people and the languages spoken in this region, differences exist in the life styles of the various groups living here. Communication is not always easy, and ethnic identity sometimes overrides national and regional concerns. History is full of instances when this has led to man-caused calamities. To maintain in the same nation groups that claim to belong to a different heritage and yet bring about changes that are necessary in order to build a modern nation, many political leaders were either ousted or forced to make very awkward compromises. The change from a colonial type educational policy has often been slow in coming.

Two features that also need to be mentioned are: (a) the high mortality rate, and the low life expectancy: as late as 1980, only 14 countries have a life expectancy of 50 years and above; that is obviously low, especially when one takes into account progress made in medicine since the turn of the century; (b) migration: there are three types: (i) rural-to-urban migration mostly seasonal, or young people looking for better job opportunities in the cities, (ii) international from land-locked poor countries into agricultural or oil producing coastal countries, such as Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon and Gabon, and (iii) political refugees. It is estimated that in 1984 the region had a refugee population of over 2.7 million, out of which one million were from the war-torn famine stricken Ethiopia. What do we make of all these figures?

In my opinion, regardless of where one stands on the social, moral, political and religious scales, one has to admit that there is a need for a consistant population policy in the sub-Saharan region as there is for other parts of the world. Solutions can be brought about only through cooperative efforts between the countries immediately concerned, with the help of the international community. Nevertheless, population control is not the only issue at stake here. As Africans are quick to point out to foreigners, compared to many parts of the industrialized world, Africa is still underpopulated. The issue at stake is development, and population control becomes an issue largely because of the continent's inability to feed itself.

Currently, almost all sub-Saharan countries have family planning programs of

sort. These programs do reflect a consciousness of the matter from the part of the leaders, but implementation often encounters many difficulties, such as traditional and religious practices, illiteracy, political instability. Many field specialists come to realize that a simple "transfer of technology" is never the answer, especially when the local culture and the local people are not made to partake in the changes that are being brought about.

YOUTH EXCHANGE GROUP RETURNS

The six students and a teacher participating in the Illinois/Cote d'Ivoire Youth Exchange became media celebrities during their November stay in Cote d'Ivoire. In addition to coverage by Cote d'Ivoire television and newspapers, the Associated Press ran a story of their meeting with an Akan king, which appeared in papers in Illinois and other places in the U.S. The welcoming reception at the Lycee Classique (a participating Abidjan school) was described as "overwhelming" by everyone, and was one of several occasions attended by the Minister of Education Dr. Balla Keita. His ministry and other Ivorian groups provided transportation and assistance with special trips into the country. Reports from everybody on the experience, including the exceptional hospitality of the African host families, are all extremely enthusiastic. Kie Ross, from University High School in Urbana, said: "It was the best month of my life." On Saturday morning, December 19, there will be a report on the trip by the group on the U of I campus, Room 322 at the Illini Union.

Postcript: Only a few hours before departure, the group made a special trip to see a newly arrived member of the Illinois/Cote d'Ivoire family, a baby girl born to Lazare Kouabran, the teacher who accompanied the Ivorian students to Illinois last spring. The baby is named after Louise Crane.

TEACHING AFRICAN MUSIC: NEW RELEASE FROM WORLD MUSIC PRESS

1. Abraham K. Adzinyah, D. Maraire & Judith C. Tucker, (1987). Let Your Voice Be Heard: Songs From Ghana and Zimbabwe. For K-12. Well done both technically and pedagogically. Songs clearly transcribed and taped. Tapes include both instructional and field recordings.

2. Lynne Jessup, (1984). The Mandinka Balafon: An Introduction with Notation For Teaching. Songs collected in Gambia. Book comes with two instructional tapes. Flaws: Not all songs are in Mandinka; some are in Bambara; instructions to Balafon lessons are in Mandinka and not very audible on the tape; phonetically unsound transcription.

3. Luvenia A. George, (1987). Teaching the Music of Six Different Cultures. Updated version of a 1976 book. The African section is about 40 pages long. Very extensive bibliography at the end of the section. Flaw: Not cost efficient. Relies solely on commercially distributed professional recordings.

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POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

As a whole Latin America is one of the fastest growing, if not the fastest growing region, in the world. Between 1950 and 1975 the population of the entire region doubled from 164,053,000 to 363,704,000 with the annual growth rate at its highest of 2.9% in the1960's. The shifting demographic pattern is exacerbated by hyperurbanization in many parts of Latin America and a skewed population curve with half the population under the age of 16. To begin with a point of comparison, the total land areas of North America (the United States and Canada) and Latin America (including Mexico, Central and South America) are roughly equivalent; North America contains 7.6 million square miles while Latin America is slightly larger at 7.9 million square miles. In the 1950's both regions had about the same population--165 million people lived in Latin America and the Caribbean and approximately 166 million people occupied North America. The figures have changed radically since the midpoint of the 20th century and now Latin America has a total population of 417 million in 1986 compared to the total population of 267 million in North America.

The population of Latin America has tended to center around those countries located closest to the equator; however, since World War II, the demographic center of the region has shifted increasingly northward. The highest rate of growth is in Middle America, Mexico and the countries of Central America, where the population has increased to almost 100 million people. One-fifth of the total population of Latin America lives in Mexico. Brazil, with 122 million people, and Colombia, with 26 million, constitute 40 per cent of the population. Population density is still very low in the Amazonian rain forest which stretches across eastern Peru and Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil, and in the temperate countries of Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. The high growth rate of 2.9% during the 1960's appears to be tapering off and is projected to be 2.3 by 1990 with the possibility of dropping as low as 1.8 by the year 2000.

This increased rate is related to a steady or slightly decreasing birth rate and decreasing mortality rate. Approximately 10 years have been added to the life expectancy at birth, particularly due to increased availability of medicines such as penicillin and improved quality of health care. The mortality of infants and young children, as well as adults over 40, has dropped significantly.

The configurations of population growth and life expectancy are, by no means, uniform across the continent and into the Caribbean. It is estimated that in Latin America, each woman will have, on the average of 5 children during her life, while in the Caribbean that number is slightly lower at 3.4 children. At the present Honduras has the highest birth rate with each woman having on the average of 7.1 children per lifetime, while in Cuba the number is considerably lower with 2.5. Related to this trend is a shortened life expectancy at birth for Latin America in comparison with the developed countries of the world. While most developed countries enjoy a life expectancy of about 73 or 74 years, Latin American populations have a life expectancy of only 61 years. Like the birth rate this figure widely varies within the region. Haiti represents the lowest end of the spectrum with a life expectancy of only 50.6 years while Cuba represents the high end at 71.8 years.

This trend in growth is coupled with a trend in hyperurbanization. Prior to the midpoint of this century, Latin America was primarily rural in organization. Few countries could have been called urban. The exceptions to this trend were the Southern Cone--Argentina, Chile, Uruguay-- and Venezuela, all of which had large cities serving as major ports and political capitals. However, a post-war trend toward urbanization had led to Latin America being

the most urbanized region of the developing world, certainly more urban than South Asia or Africa. In Latin America today, about 67% of the population live in urban settings. In comparison, only 30% of Africa's population is classified as urban and only 24% of South Asia's population. Four of the world's ten largest cites are located in Latin America. These include Mexico City (17 million in the last census in 1980), São Paulo (13.5 million), Rio de Janeiro (10.7 million), both in Brazil, and Greater Buenos Aires (10.1 million) in Argentina. Furthermore, Bogotá in Colombia and Lima-El Callao in Peru have exceeded 5 million inhabitants. Mexico City may have already exceeded 20 million since the last census taken in 1980 and São Paulo will probably pass that mark in the 1990's. The United Nations estimates that by the 21st century Latin America will have at least 50 cities with a population of 1 million or more.

Both the rural and urban areas are undergoing periods of growth, but for different reasons. While the birth rate remains high in rural areas of Latin America, it is dropping significantly in the urban centers. The lower birth rate in the urban centers is linked to a number of factors including a higher level of education for urban women, increased job opportunities for women in the urban sector, and wide availability of birth control. Despite the Catholic Church's official opposition to birth control, 40 to 60 percent of all women between the ages of 15 and 44 who are either married or cohabitating practice some form of birth control. The great population increases, which pressure urban areas today, are not the result of an inflated birth rate , but rather, increased rural-urban migration. For example, it is estimated that 10,000 people arrive in or are born in Mexico City every day.

The reasons for this hyperurbanization are varied and its consequences are many. As of 1979, 58% of the rural population have migrated or will migrate to cities. Although Latin America is not over-populated in terms of area and resources, lack of employment opportunities and land-tenure patterns, which leave much of the land in the hands of a few, are given as reasons for migration. The cities to which people migrate have never been set up to absorb a high level of migration of people who need employment.

Unchecked growth into cities also leads to other forms of economic and ecological stress. First, high migration rates are often forcing expansion of city neighborhoods into arable land, thereby affecting the production of a country as a whole. This appears to be the case with Mexico City. Due to rapid urban expansion, much of what could be arable land in Central Mexico is covered by urban settlement. In developing countries this can represent a crucial blow to the economy as more land is needed to be brought under agricultural production to feed the growing population, as well as for export production. The pollution produced by the vast numbers of inhabitants is equally devastating. In Mexico City there are virtually no pollution controls on cars, trucks, and buses; it is now estimated that this is the most polluted city in the world. Civic groups and international environment organizations are calling for much stricter pollution controls, but there is a feeling of "too little too late." Continuing on its present course, Mexico City will be uninhabitable by the year 2010 simply because the air will be unbreatheable.

A related problem is the lack of drinking water. Much of Mexico City's water is imported from other regions of the country and, most importantly, the water is usually diverted from irrigation works crucial to agricultural production. The specter of water shortage was raised in the aftermath of the earthquake in Mexico City in September of 1985. The water supply was cut off from many areas of the city including those that were relatively undamaged during the quake itself and potable water had to be brought in by truck to various neighborhoods.

The high rate of migration to the urban centers also affects the economic sector in various ways. The majority of migrants into a city are unskilled workers who seek manual labor in the formal and informal sectors. Rates of unemployment and underemployment are high and urban sectors are generally growing much faster than the economy. Two strategies have been adopted for economic development. The first is a tendency to try to copy patterns of technological and economic development which are capital-intensive. In countries where lack of capital investment is severe, there tends to enforce the economic and social position of an already entrenched upper class who tend to focus on borrowed patterns of consumption rather than economic development which leaves less capital to be diverted into urban development. A second strategy focuses on the development and continued use of highly labor intensive economic practices as a means of providing employment for the large and ever increasing pools of unskilled labor. However, this practice too often hinders rather than promotes economic growth by keeping productive activities focused on unskilled labor.

People migrate to the cities for a variety of reasons. The reason most often cited is the lack of arable land available to a rising rural population. However, there are also perceived benefits other than economic opportunities in an urban life. The perceived pattern of urban dwelling offers an increase in educational, medical, and social services for the migrants. Economic advancement, particularly in industrialized, governmental, and service sectors, is seen as more feasible when one has relocated to an urban setting with its emphasis on education and individual advancement as opposed to staying in a rural setting with an emphasis on family-oriented agricultural practices. This perception of opportunities does not always jibe with the economic reality awaiting migrants to the cities. Because a large number of migrants are unskilled laborers, knowing little more than their skills in agricultural production and moving into areas without well-developed economic bases, they are drawn into a cycle of periodic or sporadic employment, serious underemployment, or illegal employment.

Housing, too, can be a serious problem for arriving migrants. The major Latin American cities are characterized by an established central zone of residential and business district ringed by enormous tracts of squatter settlements or "shanty towns." These are enormous settlements of people who have no official claim to the land they occupy, but whose sheer numbers are able to defy official policy. In the early years of any new squatter settlement, the houses are little more than cardboard boxes or straw mats. As these settlements become more entrenched and more well-established, access to water and electricity is gained, often illegally, through the tapping of established city lines. In the major cities most affected by rising migration, almost half of the population lives in such illegal squatter settlements. In Mexico City, for example, 46% of the population lived in squatter settlements or other slums in 1970. In Caracas, Venezuela the number is 42% while in Bogotá, the capital of Colombia,the number is as high as 60%. With the growing economic crisis the urban poor have suffered disproportionately. Viewed as an economic opportunity prior to arriving in the city, the migration experience often finds people more desperately poor than before. With the family structure in transition and facing severe economic pressures, there is a growing number of "abandoned children", often very young, leaving their homes in the urban slums to try and survive through begging, stealing, or doing odd jobs. Because this is a difficult segment of the population to track there are widely ranging estimates concerning the number of homeless children in Latin America, but the number is somewhere in the millions.

As is true of any period of intense change and social and economic crises, the resilient cultural and social systems are finding new ways to adapt, ways which add to the cultural vibrancy of the region and produce new avenues of economic and political activity. One great economic change is the growth of the informal economic sector, or the "black market." The black market in this sense does not refer to the selling of items illegally obtained or obtained without paying governmental duties, but rather any economic activity which is practiced without the required government licenses and permits, and without following governmental regulations or paying taxes. From a governmental point of view, a large informal economic sector can be devastating in terms of lost state revenues (taxes, licenses, etc.). However, from the point of view of an urban migrant, the informal sector may represent the only chance for economic survival. Hernando de Soto, a Peruvian economist, has studied the informal sector in Lima, the capital of Peru. His findings are reported in the book El Otro Sendero (The Other Path), not yet translated into English. De Soto has found that the thriving black market in Lima, and in other parts of the world, has been formed in response to top-heavy government bureaucracies typical of many developing countries, and sees the burgeoning informal system as a solution to an economic and political system which favors the privileged classes at the expense of the urban and rural poor. In a setting where it can take 289 days and $1,231 to legally register a small sewing workshop or over six years and $2,156 (or 56 times the monthly minimum salary in Lima) to obtain a building permit, the informal sector represents a viable option to obtain housing and employment. In Lima the informal sector has eclipsed the formal, state-supported sector in the areas of transportation and housing. Illegal market places and unlicensed sidewalk vendors are now an integral part of the urban landscape. Though de Soto recognizes problems with an unrestricted economic sphere, he sees the informal sector as not only creating viable economic opportunities for the urban poor, but also as a singular chance for developing countries to encompass the principles of a free market and encourage the growth of an economic system which is not based on wealth redistribution, but wealth production. In fact, de Soto sees this informal sector not as a problem, but as a solution for economic development in Latin America and advocates the incorporation of the informal sector into state economic systems, utilizing the experience of a market system to restructure the formal economic systems hindered by bureaucracy and legislation unfavorable to the entreprenuer.

Another outcome of rapid urban growth and poverty is the political mobilization of people heretofore kept out of the national political process. The urban poor were particularly hard-hit after the Mexico City earthquake of 1985. Many of the most densely populated neighborhoods that were destroyed have yet to be rebuilt and people are still homeless two years later. In response to this situation, the *Asamblea de Barrios* (The Assembly of Neighborhoods) was formed in Mexico City this summer. The purpose of this organization is personified by Superbarrio, a comic-book type superhero come to life. Dressed in a red and yellow wrestling outfit, Superbarrio has declared himself to be the "defender of poor tenants and bane of the corrupt landlords." Like any superhero, Superbarrio is an ordinary citizen, a sidewalk vendor, until moments of crises. In a creative melding of street theatrics and political activism, Superbarrio has come to symbolize the fight against unfair rental practices in Mexico City. He leads protest marches to the presidential mansion and has publicly fought wrestling matches against Catalino Creel, a character derived from popular soap opera villain, who, in this context, represents urban slumlords. In just a few months the *Asamblea* has become one of the strongest urban organizations and receives almost daily press coverage. There is serious debatein the legislature concerning the redefinition of tenants' rights and the restructuring of government housing programs.

The process of hyperurbanization in Latin America is not altogether bleak. National governments are attempting to deal with the problem through programs of relocation, economic development, and decentralization of government bureaucracies. The urban poor, one of the fasting growing segments of the population, through their tactics of informal economic practice and political activism, may yet succeed in helping to restructure economic and political policies which have hindered development .

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A portrait of a lower-class family in Mexico City in the 1950's. This work has since been re-evaluated and stands as a classic study of the urban poor.

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Roberta H. Gumport, Outreach Coordinator

Our conception of what a city is in great part derives from the work of 19th century western historians and sociologists, like Henri Pirenne, Max Weber, and Karl Marx. They conceived of cities as sharply differentiated from the agricultural lands which surrounded it in terms of population, function, and culture. They were legally and politically autonomous. The cities of today still retain many of these characteristics although their legal and political autonomy has been transformed - cities while still maintaining separate political identities have been incorporated into larger political units (states and nations). Their economic relationships have also been changed. Cities are no longer required to protect the economic circumstances of their inhabitants against outsiders although cities still carry on some of this function through zoning ordinances and other regulatory laws.

Chinese and Japanese cities did not develop the same way that European cities did. Historically, the important cities were administrative centers set up specifically for that purpose by strong central or regional governments. The sites were selected for their military/strategic importance. If the site also provided suitable conditions for commercial development, that development would also occur. Commercial activities, however, were suspect in the Confucian tradition and were always subject to control by the government and to forced extraction when the government needed money. In China, the primary political nature of the cities is reflected in the fact that large cities were usually divided into several subunits (called xian, a term still used today and translated as county) each with a district magistrate appointed directly by the central government. Each of the magistrates was directly responsible to the central government for his county (which usually included rural areas as well as parts of the city). There was no administrative body in the city which was responsible for coordinating policy between units in a city although some of this was done informally by magistrates and higher level officials who might be assigned to the city. Some cities whose only function was commercial did develop but they remained relatively small and their existence dependent on the good will of the authorities. The premodern cities of China which could boast huge populations were important because of their political position. [The capital cities of Tang China (7th-10th century AD), Loyang and Kaifeng, had populations of over 1 million]

In Japan, the situation was somewhat different due to the fact that central government power disintegrated by the 13th century and power fractured into the hands of military men, none of whom could truly dominate the others. This situation called for the development of castle towns - fortifications which housed the military strength and political administration (usually the same people) of the daimyo, the lord. Commercial activity grew within the safety of these towns, but again, subject to control and the exactions of the political authorities. The unification of the country under the Tokugawa shogunate at the beginning of the 17th century, allowed for the growth of several large urban centers and the shogunate's requirement that all lords spend extended periods of time living in Tokyo encouraged the growth of several cities. Tokyo, known then as Edo, which was the headquarters of the shogunate grew into a city of over

1 million people by the 19th century. Cities which lay astride the major travel or transportation routes, such as Osaka saw noticeable development but were well controlled by the Tokugawa and not allowed the freedoms of the west.

The restoration of the civilian government in 1868 as one response to the threat presented by western imperial powers allowed for freer movement of both men and goods. This coupled with the industrial development began to transform the Japanese landscape. Japan's move toward an urbanized society was relatively slow. In 1920, the year of the first reliable census in Japan, the population was still overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. Only 18% of the people lived in urban areas. On the eve of the Second World War, Japan's urban population had doubled and included 38% of the total population. By 1970, 72% of the population lived in urban places. To put it another way, in 1920 Japan was about 1/3 as urbanized as the U.S. but by 1970 it was almost as urbanized as the U.S. Japan has thus only been transformed into an predominantly urban society in the last 40 years. Its cities are relatively new or newly built since most Japanese cities were bombed out during the Second World War.

Urban development has taken place primarily within the area known as Tokaido, the area which runs from Osaka north through Nagoya to Tokyo. The physical position of these cities made them attractive urban centers and the building of the Shinkansen (the Bullet Train) in 1964 linking Osaka and Tokyo reinforced the pattern of urbanization in Tokaido. For 20 years from 1950 to 1970, there has been an enormous shift of population into Tokaido from all other areas of Japan. The cities were the primary receivers of people. Since 1970, the rate of population growth in the core cities has declined and the suburbanization of Japan has developed rapidly.

Japan has now reached the point where urbanization is slowing and should continue to do so. The population is due to stabilize in 20 years and the migration of people from urban to suburban areas is also reducing the pressure on the three major cities. The Japanese government is encouraging the shift in urban concentration in an attempt to alleviate the problems of enormous population concentration in Tokaido. 60 million people, over half the population, live in the Tokaido, an area of 10,000 km^2. Metropolitan Tokyo itself has 30% of the population. The government has been supporting the development of new towns at selected sites outside (but often closely associated with) existing metropolitan areas but it has been difficult to get people to move far from the cities.

In addition to dealing with continuing urban development, Japan is now beginning to face the need for urban renewal and the need to improve the quality of urban life. The cities built after W.W. II were not built to handle the road traffic existing today and many were built without adequate provisions for sewerage (see last year's Update on the environment). In addition, despite regulations which have existed from the 60s dealing with use of urban space and particularly the need to plan open space, relatively little space has been set aside for recreation. With the changes in population, the demand for such space has been growing. The length of the workweek has fallen for most people from 6 to 5 days in the last 10 years. The length of holidays has also increased. This has increased the demand on recreational urban facilities. Further, with an expected doubling of the population over 65-years of age by 2000, the demand for recreation space will be further increased.

Japan's urban problems are quite familiar to us being problems of highly industrialized and urbanized societies. The urban problems which the PRC faces are those of an industrializing society and the government of the PRC has from the beginning implemented policies designed to mitigate the horrendous urban conditions experienced in cities during the Industrial Revolution in the west.

At the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949, the most highly developed cities in China were those along the east coast, like Shanghai and Tianjin, which had been treaty ports. These cities were seen as consumer cities, extracting food and raw materials from the rest of the country and returning nothing to it. One of the first objectives of the new government in the 1950s was to turn these consumer cities into producer cities. To this end, money was invested in industrial development both in the existing cities and in the development of new cities, especially in the northeast which was the repository of large mineral and energy resources. In the 1960s, with the break between PRC and the USSR, the highest rate of urban growth fueled by industrial investment was in the southwest, particularly the province of Sichuan, so as to disperse industries and make them less vulnerable to military attack than they would be when concentrated along the east coast. In the 1970s, as tensions between the two countries abated, industrial investment was fairly evenly distributed.

Investment in industrial development alone could not change cities from consumer to producer cities. It was also necessary to control the influx of population from the rural areas to the cities. The cities were always attractive because of the higher standard of living they provided to their residents. Industrial employment provided employees with health insurance, housing, access to better quality education and therefore opportunities, which either did not exist or existed at a much lower level in the countryside. In order to control migration of population into urban areas, the government registered all households and issued registration books. Only urban households are eligible for ration cards which allow them to purchase monthly quotas of oil and grain in cities. Until the institution of the responsibility system, peasants have not been allowed to sell grain or other commodities on the free market. All grain not allowed for personal use had to be sold to the government who then resold it through government stores in cities.

These restrictions slowed but did not prevent the migration of rural residents to cities. The chaos of the various campaigns like the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution allowed for massive migration into cities. The registration system allows the authorities to identify illegal urban residence and massive urban deportation have occurred when government control was reasserted. In addition to deporting illegal residents, the government on occasion has sent large numbers of urban residents into the countryside to reduce the urban population. Urban youth were moved to the countryside on a large scale during the 1950s and during the Cultural Revolution (from 1968 to 1974 approximately 17 million youth were sent down). Cadre (bureaucrats) have also been sent down on several occasions. In the 1950s they were sent to explain and lead in the implementation of the new government's programs. From then on, the sending down of cadre occurred during the midst of the fierce political campaigns that have marked the political landscape and have been considered as little more than punishment.

The change in policy which has occurred since 1978 has relaxed implementation of the measures taken to control the growth of urban population and most of the youth who were sent down earlier have now returned to their urban homes. There is now also a large number of "temporary" residents now living and working in cities. Some are workers who are involved in construction and who indeed are temporary residents of a city. Many are people with rural household registration who are more or less permanent residents of the city. Now that peasants are free to sell excess grain and other foodstuffs on the free market, eating in the city is not difficult.

Housing, however, is a real problem even for households with urban residence. Not until the 1980s did the government choose to invest significantly in housing. Between 1950 and 1978, investment in housing was not sufficient to keep pace with the growing population or to maintain existing housing. The amount of floorspace per person in urban areas decreased to 4 square meters (approx 42 sq. feet). It is not at all unusual for a family to live in one room, cook in a hall or shared kitchen, and share a bathroom with one or many families.

In any discussion of urban living in China and Japan, it would be instructive to have students lay out an area 4 m^2 or 26 m^2 in the case of Japan and compare that to the space available to each person in their own homes.

Recommended reading:
Elgin Heinz, in his "Teaching About Japan: Notes for a Workshop" has some excellent suggestions on how to make population figures and space real for your students.
Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade by Henri Pirenne
Life in a Medieval City by Joseph and Frances Gies
City Life in Japan by R.P. Dore
Low City, High City by Edward Seidensticker (about Tokyo)
Urban Japan: its Foundations and Growth by David Kohnhauser
Urban Policies in Japan, an Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development report.
The City in Cultural Context, ed by John Agnew, John Mercer, David Sopher. A volume which contains chapters on Europe, Russia, South Africa, India, China, Japan and more.
Urbanization in China: Town and Country in a Developing Economy by R.J.R. Kirkby
The Fading of the Maoist Vision: City and Country in China's Development by Rhoads Murphey
"A Tale of New Cities" by Kim Woodard and Judith Banister in China Business Review. March-April 1987.

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The Center for Teaching About China is in the process of developing a list of speakers who would be willing to come into the classroom and talk about China and things Chinese. If you are interested in sharing your knowledge in the classroom, please write the Center for Teaching About China for an application. If you are a teacher looking for someone who knows about China to come into your classroom, the Center will be able to give you the name of someone in your area who can speak on the topic of interest to you. Contact the Center for Teaching about China, U.S. China Peoples Friendship Association, 2025 Eye Street, Suite 715, Washington, D.C. 20006. 202-296-4147.

Lifetime Learning Systems, Inc., has prepared a free film study guide for the film "The Last Emperor", a movie about the last emperor in Chinese history. Pu Yi, inherited the throne as a child in the last years of imperial China and died as a gardener in Beijing in 1969. Pu Yi's personal history provides an interesting perspective through which 20th century Chinese history can be viewed. For a free copy of the study guide, write Lifetime Learning Systems, Inc., 79 Stanford Street, Fairfield, Connecticut 06430.

Since decreases in the fertility rates have often been associated with increasing urbanization, it is interesting to note that while the rural population in northern Russia has been cut in half in the last 25 years, it has more than doubled in Central Asia. Although some 25 people per 1000 leave the countryside for the cities annually in the Slavic and Baltic areas, only 4 per 1000 leave the rural areas of Central Asia. Interestingly enough, a recent survey in Central Asia indicated that family income in the rural areas was higher than in the urban areas except for the capital cities. Obviously, there is not the same incentive for leaving the farm in these areas producing profitable cotton and vegetable crops, which are heavily subsidized, as there is to leave farms on more unproductive land in the northern regions. Moreover, not only is the population attached to the land, but family ties are strong, resulting in low divorce rates and fairly large, stable families, which are accommodated more easily in individual housing in the countryside than in urban apartment houses. As a result, Central Asia has a rapidly increasing and largely rural working-age population. Some planners wonder how long the area will be able to sustain this kind of growth because one of its most severe problems is a shortage of water. Irrigation is already heavily used, and agriculture simply can not be expanded without additional water resources. Perhaps labor intensive light industries will be developed in the area, and these may be able to attract young people to the cities. Ideally the Soviet planners would like to promote an out-migration of these young people from their own republics, and vocational programs in the labor-short republics have been implemented for this purpose. However, cultural factors seem to mitigate against hopes for large migrations of Central Asians to the heavily industrialized areas of the European part of the country or to the developing areas in Siberia, which are also short of manpower.

For more than fifty years Soviet planners in theory have supported plans to limit the growth of cities, arguing that they intended to avoid the negative features of slums, crime, and unemployment often associated with very large cities in the rest of the world. However, the Soviet Union has experienced a rapid growth of cities with an increasingly large concentration of the urban population in the largest cities. In 1959 the USSR had only three cities with a population of more than one million; by 1970 the number had increased to ten, and there are now 23. Originally it was thought that growth should be concentrated in middle size cities with an optimal population of 200,000. According to guidelines operative until 1976, further industrial expansion in a city was to be prohibited when it would raise the city's population to more than 300,000. However, since that time specific size limits have been dropped, and some planners now disregard the concept of optimum size and even question the use of artifical devices such as the residence permit in controlling urban sprawl. Nonetheless, the principle of restricting the growth of large cities, creating new towns, and encouraging the growth of smaller cities has not disappeared.

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Demographics and Urbanization: The Soviet Union

The current population of the Soviet Union is estimated to be about 280 million. A year ago a sample census was taken in several republics, but the next national census will be conducted only in January 1989. In general, the demographic trends for the Soviet Union as a whole are similar to those in North America and Western Europe, although the Soviet Union does not have the in-migration experienced by some of the other highly industrialized nations, nor a large number of guest workers. The population growth of the USSR has dropped by one-half in the last three decades, from an average of 1.8 percent a year in the 1950s to 0.9 percent in 1986. The latter figure is the same as the growth rate of the United States.

After World War II the Soviet Union, like many countries, experienced a baby boom, but this phenomenon in the socialist countries tended to be smaller and briefer than in Western Europe and North America. In the fifties a smaller pool of women in their child-bearing years and liberalized abortion laws significantly reduced the birth-rate, which has remained low despite pro-natalist policies in the form of maternity and other benefits. The total fertility rate (the average number of children born to a woman during her lifetime) in the Soviet Union was 2.3 in 1983; this is above the 2.1 rate needed for a population to remain at replacement level and higher than the 1.8 rate for Western Europe.

This slowly increasing population in the Soviet Union has become more and more urbanized with larger segments of the population living in ever increasing urban centers and urban agglomerations. Currently about two-thirds of the Soviet population is considered urban (in contrast to only one-third in 1940). While the percentage is less than in Western Europe, where 70 - 85 percent of the population is now urbanized, the Soviet process seems to be continuing at a slow but steady pace as new towns are constructed and cities expanded.

While the national statistics for the Soviet Union seem to parallel closely the experience of other developed countries, there are striking regional differences within the country, especially between the Slavic and Baltic Republics and what is sometimes called the Non-Slavic South (Transcaucasia and Central Asia), and these have important implications for the future development of the Soviet Union. Although some geographers predict a future convergence of regional demographic rates and some national trends substantiate this, Soviet planners will need to pay attention to regional differences for at least the next two decades. In 1980, for example, the fertility rates in the Slavic and Baltic Republics hovered around 2.0, while the Muslim-dominated Central Asian Republics ranged up to 5.8. Thus, although birth-rates have dropped nationally, it is estimated that in the year 2000, the rate for the southern areas will still be many times the projected rate for the Russian Republic.

The desire to concentrate industries close to resources is probably the most important factor responsible for the creation of about 1000 new towns containing about 40 million people. To minimize cost, centrally required norms and standards have been used in creating high density, compact settlements. Pre-cast concrete panels are used to build large housing units with a minimum of labor, and these high density settlements require fewer sewer lines and roads, while promoting a more efficient use of energy. The result, of course, is a lot of towns that resemble each other.

In addition, some older cities have experienced dramatic growth rates when new industries were introduced. For example, in 1959 the town of Stavropol had a population of 72,000. After a Fiat plant was built there, the city (renamed Togliatti) grew rapidly reaching a population of 251,000 in 1971 and 523,000 in 1981. Other cities along the Volga have followed a similar pattern of growth. In general there are clusters of cities in each economic region and almost all are expanding.

However, the largest urban agglomerations remain a magnet for in-migration. A plan for Leningrad approved in 1966 predicted a population of 3.2 million for that city in 1980, but by 1970 it already had more than 4 million inhabitants. Kiev and Moscow likewise have outstripped all predictions for their growth. Not only has the density of population increased, but these cities have repeatedly extended their city limits. Since 1959 the largest growth in Greater Moscow, for example, has occurred in the city's forest park belt, which planners thought would prevent the coalescence of Moscow with the cities outside of the belt.

Industries, it seems, have been successful in circumventing plans to limit their growth in the largest cities and have been able to obtain funds for expansion. However, the local or district governments have not always been equally good at attracting additional funds to build the necessary infrastructure to support a larger labor force recruited by the industries. This often has resulted in an exacerbation of a housing shortage and placed a terrible strain on the service sector. Although the Soviets have constructed a phenomenal amount of housing in recent decades, significant numbers of families still live in communal apartments or in housing lacking certain amenities. Even in Moscow, with a population of 8.7 million, one million still live in communal apartments, sharing cooking and bathroom facilities with another family. Sometimes when workers migrate to cities, they must live in dormitories. Nevertheless, people are attracted to large cities because the stores are better stocked, the quality of health care and education is higher, and the future looks more promising.

Elizabeth Talbot

Note: To live in the largest cities in the Soviet Union, one must have a residence permit. Children born in these cities automatically acquire residence permits, as do spouses of residents. Temporary permits are issued to workers brought to a city to fulfill specific jobs, and after five years the holder of a temporary permit can apply for a permanent residence permit.

Suggested readings:

Kimberly A. Crews, "The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," Population in Perspective: Regional Views, Population Reference Bureau, October 1986, pp.13-18.

Mark Field, "The Contemporary Soviet Family: Problems, Issues, Perspectives," Soviet Society under Gorbachev: Current Trends and the Prospects for Reforms, ed. by M. Friedberg and H. Isham, M. E. Sharpe, 1987, pp. 3-29.

Soviet Geography, February, March, April, and June 1987 issues have relevant articles.

The October and November 1987 issues of Soviet Life have articles on housing in Moscow and Yaroslavl, which are relevant and open about the problems as well as the successes of the housing authorities.

USA-USSR Youth Summit Teleconference

Old Dominion University and the Public Broadcasting Service are presenting a program on Soviet education and rock entertainment on February 12 at 1:00 EST and a program on family, food and fashion on February 26 at 1:00 EST. A third program, a spacebridge between American and Soviet students will be broadcast on March 11 from 11:30 - 1:00 EST. Contact your local PBS station or Old Dominion University's Center for Instructional Services (Norfolk, VA 23529). Telephone: (804) 440-3181.

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